

THE *GAMELAN SELUNDING* OF ASAK, KARANGASEM, BALI

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THE *GAMELAN SELUNDING* OF ASAK, KARANGASEM, BALI

ABSTRACT

This article is about the seven-tone *selunding* music of the village of Asak in the district of Karangasem, eastern Bali, and based on research conducted in 1972-1973, 1976, 1985-86, 1991-1994 and from 2001 intermittently to the present day¹.

After a general introduction, the article continues with a description of the cultural setting of Asak, a summary description of village rituals, the instruments, the tonal system, the playing techniques and the repertoire as well as a summary of the literature on *selunding* music.

The “message” of the article is that music and ritual² are tightly connected or, in other words, both ritual action and music are indicators or expressions of locally relevant values and representations, or to put it in more sociological terms, are statements about the socio-religious order. In my opinion, ritual music and ritual action are equivalents or at least complementary: music without ritual action, and, conversely, ritual action without music is meaningless, ritual actions must be embedded within the musical structure, a view corroborated by the leader of the music association although he did not use the word “meaningless” but “dangerous”.

¹ This article is a new version of an article (“The Shining of the Deity”) published in Schaareman 1992. The article was submitted for publication in “Ethnomusicology” and “Asian Music”. Both submissions were rejected on grounds of lacking theoretical references and lacking “voices of informants”. I choose to disagree with the reasons given, but I leave it to the judgment of my readers whether this article constitutes a valuable addition to the literature on the topic or not.

² I understand ritual in the sense of Catherine Bell as “ritualized action”. Bell (1997: 266) writes: “The contexts in which ritual practices unfold are not like the props of painted scenery on a theatrical stage. Ritual action involves an inextricable interaction with its immediate world, often drawing it into the very activity of the rite in multiple ways. Exactly how this is done, how often, and with what stylistic features will depend on the specific cultural and social situation with its traditions, conventions, and innovations.”

A glimpse of the playing technique is seen in the photograph below:

Figure 1. *Selunding* Ensemble at Besakih Temple (photo courtesy Pino Confessa)



FOREWORD

Time flies, they say. And indeed, between the nineteen-seventies, when I began my first research, and the present day, a period of close to 50 years, many changes have occurred in Balinese society, but not, as far as I can see, in respect to the ritual music of the sacred *gamelan selunding* ensembles and other like ensembles³. However, a note of caution is appropriate: as is known, many *selunding*

³ It may be useful to say something about my initial and later research in Asak. In 1972-1973, I was part of a Swiss research team consisting of three anthropologists, a musicologist, a photographer and a cameraman. The research was initiated by the University of Basel and the Museum of Ethnography, Basel, funded by the Swiss Fund for the Promotion of Scientific Research and sponsored by LIPI (the Indonesian Institute of Science) and Udayana University in Denpasar, Bali. I set out upon producing a village monograph with a two-pronged approach: socio-cultural structure in the context of Balinese culture as such, and the relation between village rituals and ritual music. I was also tasked with assisting the musicologist in recording “ancient seven-tone music” of Bali which gave me the opportunity to travel around Bali and to get to know other *selunding* ensembles and like ensembles of

ensembles are no longer played – we have found iron instrument keys that are not used, the wooden troughs on which the iron keys are fixed have disappeared, and the local knowledge about how and what to play when has faded or is lost completely. Furthermore, over the years, musicians are more and more unable to perform the full *selunding* repertoire where particular melodies are tied to the performance of specific ritual actions. Handing down musical knowledge from one generation to the next did not occur at all or too late. A case in point is the *selunding* ensemble of Selat village in Karangasem: though the ensemble is more or less complete, only one instrument can be played as only one player who knows the melodies is left. Currently, there are some efforts to revive *selunding* music and increase general interest in it. A few capable and dedicated men who are iron smiths⁴ have put and are putting hard work in revival and reconstruction of passive and/ or broken *selunding* instruments. The risk here is that in many cases knowledge of playing techniques and repertoire as well as ritual use of the music were already lost and, therefore, repertoire, style, etc. must be “borrowed” from another village or other villages. A case in point is Bebandem, a village in southeast Karangasem. According to an old inscription⁵, the village once had a *selunding* ensemble, but it is no longer there. No knowledge about instruments, repertoire and the like remains. So, what happened was that new iron keys and wooden troughs were made, the repertoire was “borrowed” from the existing *gambang* repertoire in Bebandem while the playing technique was learnt from near-by villages that still have and play a *selunding* ensemble. About the ritual use assumptions were made by comparison.

The best-known *selunding* music is that of the village of Tenganan; the style of the Tenganan music is more “vibrant”, more dynamic, with faster and denser figuration, and although the music as such (the main melody and its figuration) does not allow for improvisation, it is the general musical style that has become popular among the Balinese and Westerners. The late Nyoman Gunawan of Tenganan taught many Western and Balinese students to play the *selunding*, and so promoted this style. Gunawan also taught at KOKAR (“Konservatori Karawitan”/ Conservatory of Arts) and STSI (the Indonesian Academy of Arts⁶) in Denpasar as a result of which several students of his proceeded to form their own *selunding* groups. The STSI had a *selunding* made where Gunawan supervised the making of the instruments (he was not a *pande*/ iron smith, but he

ritual music such as *gambang* and *gong luang* (see below for more on these ensembles). I lived permanently in Asak, and as a matter of course I connected with most of the population of Asak, in particular with village priests, *adat* leaders, male and female village elders, boys and girls of the respective associations, farmers, musicians and the people of various social and religious associations, in short with those segments of the population relevant for my research, and more. What provided me with the basis for all my research on the ritual music was that from the very beginning of my research in Asak I started learning to play *gambang* and later participated in rituals as a *gambang* and sometimes *gangsra* player. By learning to play I was able to appreciate the difficulties of memorizing the melodies – which is essential for being able to perform *gambang* figurations flawlessly. My teacher I Gede Putu was an excellent *gambang* player while the leader of the musicians, I Nengah Gede, a *gangsra* (and also *gambang*) player and in whose compound I lived, provided me with valuable insight in the use of the melodies during rituals (what melody goes to what part of the ritual), the modes and scales connected to certain ritual actions, where during performance variation is allowed and where not, etc. Over a period of nearly 50 years I maintained and maintain close personal contacts with many villagers, young and old, observed and participated in the village rituals multiple times, and have come to thoroughly appreciate the importance of the *gambang* and *selunding* music in the context of village rituals. Even when I cannot be in Asak all the time, personal presence is currently replaced with (video) sessions and discussions on Facebook, through Skype, Zoom and other media.

⁴ At this point I mention a foundation (*yayasan*) in Bebandem village under the lead of a local iron smith, Pande Wayan Widya. Mention should also be made of “*Mekar Bhuana*”, a foundation based in Sanur, Bali, and led by ethnomusicologist Vaughan Hatch and his wife Evie. The foundation works to document, reconstruct, repatriate and revive court and archaic Balinese music. That includes *gambang* and *selunding* music.

⁵ Cf. Ginarsa 1974: 8.

⁶ ISI (Institut Seni Indonesia, Indonesian Arts Institute) was established in 2003. Before that year it was called STSI (Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia, Academy of the Arts of Indonesia), and before that ASTI (Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia, Academy of Dance of Indonesia).

knew about tunings). The *selunding*-Tenganan-style is taught at STSI, and new compositions are made for it. Students with their newly acquired knowledge of *selunding* music return to their village, and if the village purchases a new *selunding* set they teach the Tenganan style in the village. That is a trend that I personally reject: it is possible that in the future “all of Bali” vibrates with *selunding* Tenganan music, and that the styles of individual villages become more and more obsolete.

Furthermore, the new *selunding* ensembles popping up in many places (mainly in South Bali), all in villages without a “*selunding* tradition”, become more or less integrated in local ritual practices, but they are not sacred, they only have an aura of sacredness that exists in the minds of the people⁷. It can be estimated that currently there are more than 100 new *selunding* ensembles, it is “trendy” to have a *selunding* ensemble, perhaps in an effort to support “*ajeg Bali*”⁸. These new ensembles mostly learn the repertoire and style of Tenganan.

THE RITUAL CONTEXT OF THE *GAMELAN SELUNDING* OF ASAK

INTRODUCTION

The *selunding* ensemble belongs to the small group of ritual and sacred ensembles that use a seven-tone scale or modal scheme. The group includes the following other ensembles: *gambang*, *gong luang*, *caruk*, and *sekati*.

The *gambang* ensemble in Asak consists of two pairs of bronze *gangsa* and four bamboo instruments⁹ while the *caruk* ensemble (which Asak possessed as well in former times) consists of two pairs of bronze *gangsa* and two bamboo instruments. In both ensembles the *gangsa* play the main melody where the bamboo instruments play a figuration to this melody. As an example of the composition of the *gong luang* ensemble, the one found in Tangkas village (Klungkung district) can be given: one pair of *gangsa* playing the main tones of the melody, two small *gangsa* (playing - together with four bronze *trompong* - figurations to the main melody), a bamboo instrument called *saron* (following the small *gangsa*), a small gong (*kempul*) as well as a drum (*bedog*) punctuating sections of the composition¹⁰. In the Gianyar area the *gong luang* ensemble is usually called *gong saron*. The *sekati* of which I only know one ensemble is somewhat mysterious. It was recorded in the nineteen-forties by Swiss painter Theo Meier and Swiss chemist Ernst Schlager, but since the recording is not good it is difficult to hear what instruments the

⁷ The word “sacred” comes close to the meaning of the Balinese/ Indonesian word “*keramat*”, although they are not exact synonyms. The *selunding* ensemble is *keramat* because it was given to humans by the god (of the *selunding* ensemble). *Keramat* is sacred, and dangerous if disturbed; things or actions that are *keramat* may have a healing power and are beneficial. All rituals, all religious actions are *keramat*, and if actions of a ritual are not performed as they should be, danger is close which can lead to disastrous occurrences. A ritual with “mistakes” will put the whole village community in danger.

⁸ The *Ajeg Bali* (*ajeg* meaning “strong”, “steady”) movement was launched in 2002. Henk Schulte Nordholt (2007: 389) writes: “The island [Bali] came increasingly under pressure as Jakarta-based investors and rising numbers of tourists and migrant workers invaded the island from the late 1980s. Were Balinese still in control of their own culture, which formed the backbone of their economy? [...] *ajeg* became a catchword to indicate the need for a socio-cultural self-defense”.

⁹ In several villages, the ensemble has six *gambang* instruments. I am aware of only one village (Sibetan, Karangasem) with a *gambang* ensemble having three pairs of *gangsa* and seven *gambang* instruments.

¹⁰ Details are in Toth (1974), Schlager (1976: 17ff.; 92ff.), McPhee (1966: 256ff.), Schaareman 1980^a and Seebass/ Schaareman (1981).

ensemble consists of. When I visited the owner of the ensemble and his family in the nineteen-eighties it consisted of one pair of *gangs*a and four *trompong* kettles. There may have been a bamboo instrument. The instruments were in a deplorable state and needed repair and tuning, but the owner was too afraid of the god of the ensemble to have this done and feared that bad things for him, his family and the village might happen.

I estimate that nowadays there are about seventy *gambang* ensembles (about half of which in the district of Karangasem in East Bali), about fourteen *gong luang* (mainly in the district of Gianyar), about twenty *saron* groups (more than half of these in the districts of Gianyar and Klungkung), one *sekati* ensemble in Karangasem, and about thirty (traditional) *selunding* ensembles (about half of which are still actively performing). In former times there may have been more of all types. As far as the *selunding* is concerned, there are two areas of concentration: one in the southeastern part of Karangasem, the other in the central mountains of Kintamani (district of Bangli); see the map below.

Figure 2. Location of Selunding Villages



Contrary to the music of the *gong kebyar*¹¹ and other similar types of ensemble it is not easy to get to hear *selunding* music in its ritual setting as performance is strictly bound to village rituals; outside certain rituals the ensemble must not be played, and in many villages rituals that "feature" *selunding* music only occur once in a year. Most visitors to Bali (researchers, performers, and tourists alike) interested in this music will likely just know the *selunding* music of Tenganan village: the village has three *selunding* ensembles, rituals that use *selunding* music are sort of abundant, the music as such has become somewhat desacralized and has lost some of its sacredness, and the *selunding* music of Tenganan has been recorded frequently (cassettes, now CDs are for sale locally; much is nowadays also shared on YouTube).

The *selunding* ensembles in Bali may differ considerably from each other in respect to number of instruments, arrangement of the keys, repertoire and style, and to tuning and terminology.

¹¹ Refer to Tenzer 1991 for more information on the *gong kebyar*, the most popular orchestra of Bali.

However, all *selunding* ensembles have several things in common: the seven-pitched tonal system, the use of iron for the keys, and the way the keys are suspended over the wooden troughs. In general, the ensembles in the Kintamani area (district of Bangli) consist of two instruments only whereas most ensembles in East Bali have 6-10 instruments. The biggest ensemble is that of Bungaya in East Bali with ten instruments¹². Certain groups have *ceng-ceng* (small cymbals) added as in Tenganan or for punctuation a small suspended gong, *kempul*, as in Asak.

Although during my research in Bali I traveled around, and studied and recorded the music of the seven-tone ensembles wherever that was possible, I focused on the *selunding* (and *gambang*) music of the village of Asak in Karangasem district in East Bali.

Since people from outside Asak are not allowed to enter the building where the *selunding* ensemble is played, I have no photographs of the ensemble. To compensate for that, below is a photograph of the *selunding* ensemble of Bugbug village:

Figure 3. *Selunding* Ensemble of Bugbug, Karangasem (photo courtesy Nino Gabrielli)



THE SETTING

The village of Asak belongs to a cluster of very traditional Balinese villages in the district of Karangasem in East Bali. To this group belong the neighboring villages of Bungaya, Bebandem, Timbrah, Perasi, Bugbug, and a few others. Even though these villages are embedded in the all-Indonesian bureaucratic government system of provinces, districts, sub-districts and administrative villages and wards, the village in Bali (called *desa adat*) remains largely

¹² Perhaps, after its restoration and reinstallation, the *selunding* ensemble of Besakih with 68 iron keys on 17 troughs (information from Vaughan Hatch) surpasses that of Bungaya in size. The fact that the Besakih ensemble now plays quite regularly at temple rituals is thanks to the relentless work of iron smith Pande Wayan Tusan of Bebandem (now after his consecration named Mpu Sri Dharmapala Vajrapani) who put much interest and research into *selunding* music. No one knows how it was played in the past; the village of Besakih does not have its own *selunding* music association, it is played from time to time by other *selunding* groups in Karangasem or elsewhere. Unfortunately, the ensemble was recently (2019) retuned to the tuning of Tenganan to accommodate wishes from music groups in South Bali performing on the Besakih *selunding*; these are familiar with the Tenganan tuning (information Vaughan Hatch).

independent and governs its own internal affairs. The traditional village¹³ in Karangasem can be characterized by communal land ownership, a pluralistic gerontocratic village administration with religious-priestly functions and the existence of various socio-political, socio-economic and descent groupings. These groupings remain under the authority of the village except for the irrigation associations (*subak*) that cut across village boundaries.

The council of village elders in Asak consists of 24 men divided into two groups of twelve where one is called the “younger”, the other the “older” group. During village rituals and council meetings these elders are seated in two rows according to rank, the “younger” row at the west, the “older” at the east, all facing towards the mountain side (which in Bali south of the mountainous dividing line running from east to west is north).

Asak as do most of its neighbors maintains traditional relations with the royal dynasty of Karangasem. Formerly, the royal dynasties frequently tried to tie the villages to the court by marrying women of the village (which was seen as an honor) thus creating a certain loyal following in these villages, and a relative dependence. Nevertheless, the villages remained quite independent as far as internal affairs were concerned. Although these ties are nowadays merely symbolic in nature it is still customary in several villages including Asak to invite the “king” to attend major village rituals. Since the Balinese kingdoms ceased to exist after World War II, and the last king of Karangasem died in the nineteen-sixties, nowadays the prominent members of the royal family are invited instead. Wherever possible they do attend, are seated in the Bale Agung, are offered some ritual food, and leave.

The main village rituals in all these villages follow the Balinese lunar calendar of twelve moons/months. The common word for (village) ritual is *usaba*, usually followed by the name of the month in which the ritual is held.

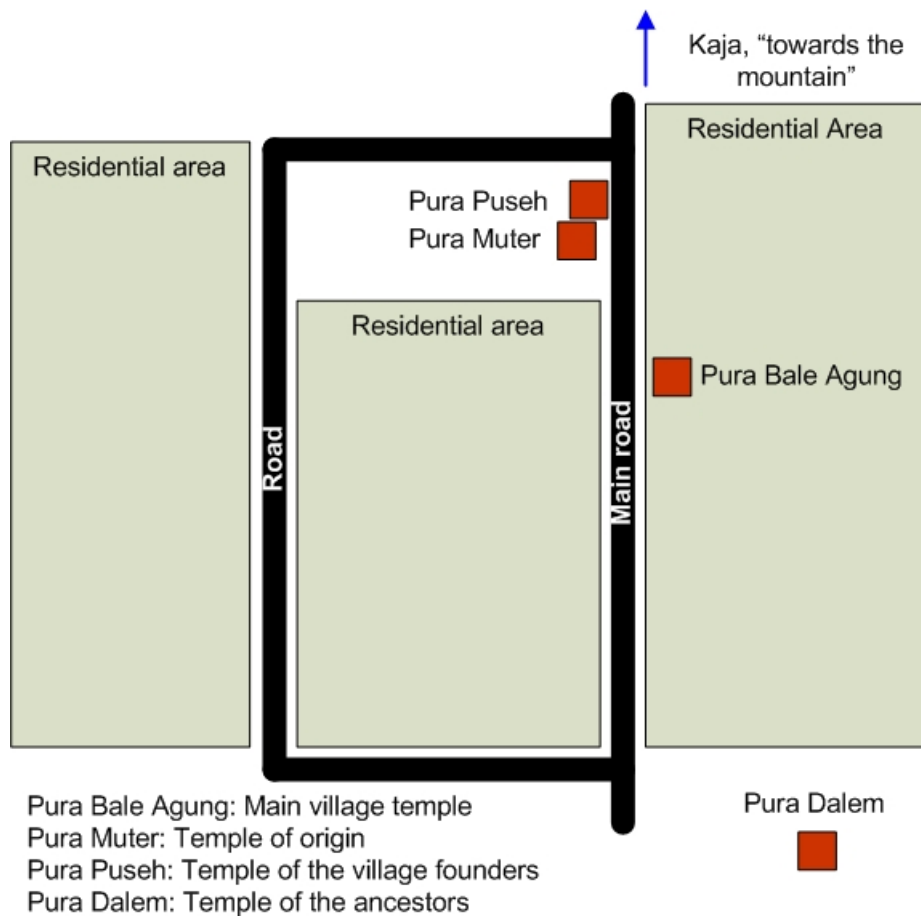
Figure 4. The “*Sumbu*” as erected during the *Usaba Kasa* in Asak, Karangasem (photo Danker Schaareman)

¹³ Where “village” is understood as a territorial, semi-autonomous adat community.



The largest village ritual in Asak (as well as in some surrounding villages) is the *Usaba Kasa*, the ritual of the first month of the Balinese lunar calendar. It is held in the Pura Muter, the temple of origin, as well as in the Pura Bale Agung, the main village temple. The figure below shows the location of the major temples of Asak.

Figure 5. Layout of Asak with the Main Temples



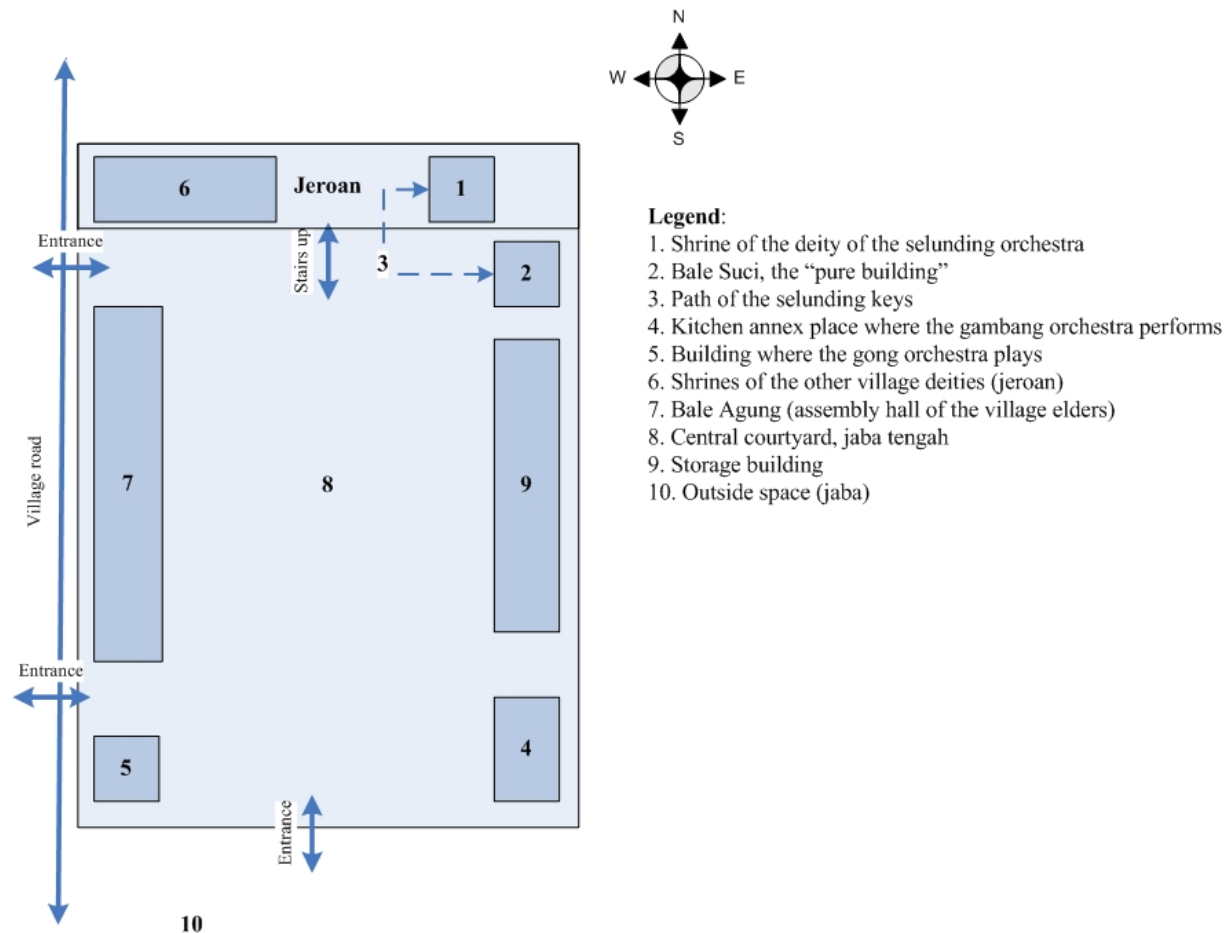
The *Usaba Kasa* is, in fact, a sequence of individual but interconnected rituals stretching over a period of more than one month, opening the cycle of annual rituals. It is a ritual of (agricultural) fertility and of material well-being. This may be seen from the fact that of the twenty-three deities of Asak, *Batari Sri* (the rice goddess or "mother earth") and *Batara Rambut Sedana* (the god of material well-being) are worshipped most during this ritual. In addition, the deified ancestors are worshipped. Life is renewed, and the (magical) powers of the ancestors, exemplified in the village elders, are transferred to the unmarried boys and girls of the village. This is apparent from the fact that during the first sections of the *Usaba Kasa*, the ritual actions are mainly performed by the village elders whereas in later sequences these are progressively taken over by the boys and girls. The ritual is usually called *Usaba Sumbu* since the *sumbu* are the most conspicuous visual element. A *sumbu* consists of a large bamboo pole on which a funnel-shaped basket is mounted. Within this basket another but smaller pole is erected on top of which a wooden construction is fixed. On this construction seven to nine wooden sculptured human figures are placed; these are said to represent the deified ancestors. There are eight *sumbu*, and they represent the eight members of the girls' association council. Each of these girls is responsible for making (with the help of family members) "her" *sumbu*¹⁴.

The *selunding* ensemble of Asak is played only during this ritual. In non-ritual times the iron keys of the instruments are kept in the shrine of the ensemble's deity, *Ida Batara Gede Bagus Selunding* ("the majestic *selunding* god") in the inner most sacred courtyard (*jeroan*) of the main/ central

¹⁴ See Schaareman 1980^b for a film that presents some scenes of the *Usaba Sumbu*.

village temple, the *Pura Bale Agung*. The wooden troughs (the resonators of the keys) on which the iron keys rest remain always in the so-called *Bale Suci* (the "pure building") in the main court of the temple. During the *Usaba Sumbu* the *selunding* ensemble is only played in this *Bale Suci*. See the sketch below:

Figure 6. Layout of the *Pura Bale Agung* and Path of the Keys Asak, Karangasem



On the tenth day of this ritual cycle, after it is completely dark¹⁵, the leader (*kliang*) of the boys' association (*sekaha taruna*) performs a small ritual of purification (*pacaruan*) in front of the shrine of the deity. Thereafter, the keys of the instruments are taken out, and brought to the *Bale Suci* where they are mounted on the wooden troughs. The path from the shrine to this bale is paved with palm leaf mats covered with sheets of white cloth (see Figure 6 above). During the ceremony (called *ngajabayang*, "bringing out into the open") all villagers except the members of the boys' association must stay within their house compounds as the ensemble is too sacred, and magically too dangerous to be looked at during the ceremony. The boys ritually cleanse and guard the village streets with torches during the *ngajabayang* ritual. Towards the end of the ritual cycle in the early morning the keys are brought back to the shrine in the inner temple court. This time, it is the leader of the *gambang* association¹⁶ who performs the ritual in front of the shrine. Again, all villagers

¹⁵ The electricity in the village is also turned off.

¹⁶ The music association is called *sekaha gambang*, never *sekaha selunding*. Its members are the musicians who play both the *gambang* and the *selunding* ensembles. At least half of the musicians belong to the commoner descent groups Pasek and Pulasari

except the boys must stay indoors.

In general, the concept of "sacredness" (or "*keramat*-ness", cf. note 7) is expressed in every culture, usually in many very differing but mostly interconnected forms, and, likewise, on interrelated levels of abstraction. Moreover, we may discern varying degrees of sacredness. Obviously, sacredness is reinforced by various prescriptions, prohibitions, and the like, thus telling us something about the ritual order. The same applies to the *selunding* ensemble which is regarded by the Balinese as the most sacred ensemble in Bali. However, the rules connected with its sacredness differ. To give a few examples: in addition to the rule above, the *Bale Suci* is not to be entered by females, nor by people from outside Asak. In the neighboring village of Bungaya, people may watch when the ensemble is carried in procession through the village, but they must squat down by the roadside, and the upper part of the body must be naked¹⁷. In the nearby village of Timbrah the building where the ensemble plays may be entered, but the instruments must not be touched. Finally, in Tenganan, a famous traditional village in eastern Bali, certain melodies may be heard but they must not be recorded or memorized in any form whatsoever.

SUMMARY NOTES ON THE LITERATURE ABOUT *SELUNDING*

The literature on *selunding* music is meager; this holds true for the other ensembles mentioned above as well. The first author to report very succinctly on the *selunding* ensemble was Jaap Kunst in 1925 (Kunst 1925, I: 35s; II: 437-440). He never actually heard the music, but he managed to measure the scale of one of the two ensembles he knew about (this was the one of Kengetan village near Ubud in Gianyar district which seems to have disappeared under somewhat mysterious circumstances). Korn 1933 only mentions the ritual use of the *selunding* ensemble in Tenganan. Slightly more substantiated is a report by Walter Spies (Spies 1933: 1-38) on the Trunyan ensemble (Kintamani area, Bangli district). Boekian (1936: 128ff.) describes the myth of origin of the Kayubihi ensemble in the district of Bangli. In terms of musicology, more rewarding are the descriptions by Colin McPhee (McPhee 1966: 256-65), and some teachers from the Denpasar conservatory (Team Survey 1972: 57-94); however, they only report on the famous *selunding* ensemble of Tenganan (the village possesses in fact three *selunding* ensembles) - "famous", because the village still attracts many foreign and domestic visitors as the three ensembles, contrary to the other active groups, perform regularly. In contrast, the *selunding* ensemble of Bungaya only plays every ten years. On the other hand, it may be invited by the royal family of Karangasem to perform at the final ceremony in the cycle of rituals for the dead (*maligia*). However, this does not occur frequently.

The most detailed publication on traditional seven-tone music of Bali is the book of Ernst Schlager, posthumously published in 1976 by Hans Oesch. It contains a description of all known seven-tone ritual ensembles with many transcriptions and some notes on the ritual use of the ensembles. The

where the Pasek consider themselves to be the guardians of the village adat. More often than not the leader of the adat and the proper carrying out of the rituals as well as the leader of the music association is a Pasek or Pulasari while many musicians are likewise Pasek and Pulasari. When I began my research in 1972, the leader of ritual music and the rituals was a Pasek until ca. 2005; after a while in 2012 that role was taken on by a Pulasari until the present. Before being able to enter the association, a musician must purify himself ritually (*mawinten*). Until about 1930 there were even **two** *gambang* associations, an "older" (*wayanan*) and a "younger" one (*nyomanan*). The former was responsible for playing the ritual music in the village temples whereas the latter performed during cremation ceremonies. There are still two sets of *gambang* instruments which are separately used; the remaining pair of *gangsa* is shared.

¹⁷ This rule pertains to men; women must wear a checkered or white breast cloth.

book also houses transcriptions of many music *lontar* manuscripts.

More recently, Urs Ramseyer (1992) and Kiyoshi Nakamura (1992) have contributed substantial insight in the ritual use of *selunding* music in Tenganan and Selat, respectively. See also Ramseyer 1977 and 1983. They clearly show the interconnectedness of music and ritual. Ramseyer published some transcriptions of *selunding* music from Ernst Schlager whereas Kiyoshi Nakamura does not provide any transcriptions. Both published an article in Schaareman (ed.) 1992. The most recent publication I know of is the book on *selunding* music by Pande Wayan Tusan (2003). His book provides useful insight into the history of the *selunding* ensemble, a description of many existing *selunding* ensembles, and his efforts to restore and revive the performance of *selunding* music wherever possible. Being an iron smith with good knowledge of *selunding* music, he is in a position to repair and reconstruct and teach.

THE *SELUNDING* MUSIC

THE INSTRUMENTS

The *selunding* ensemble of Asak consists of six instruments; nine players are required. Musically, three groups can be distinguished: one group performing the main melody (*pokok*, "base", "kernel"), a second one playing a figuration (*gucekan*)¹⁸ of the main melody, and a third one for punctuation and marking the end of individual phrases. These six instruments/ three groups are:

A) *Gangsa*. The two *gangsa* are, as are all other iron-keyed instruments of the ensemble, eight-keyed instruments; they play the main melody. The keys are suspended with leather strings over a wooden trough (*pelawah*) in which resonating holes have been cut. To keep the keys suspended wooden bridges (*likah*) are used. The leather strings are tightened by binding them to pegs at the left and right of the trough.

The trough is usually made of wood of the *nangka*/ jackfruit tree; the leather strings are of water buffalo skin; the bridges and the pegs are usually made of coconut or sugar palm tree wood. Only two instruments (*gangsa* and *gucekan*) have bridges made of copper with a *naga*¹⁹ head on each side - this is a very common feature of the Balinese *selunding* ensembles.

¹⁸ A common Balinese expression for (musical) figuration is *oncangan* (or also *kotekan* or *candetan*). An expression which is specifically heard in connection to the *selunding* ensembles of Asak and neighboring villages is *magucek* or *ngucek*. I do not know the meaning of the root *gucek*, but it may be that it is a dialect form of *kucek* (*ngucek*), meaning "to squeeze", "to shake", standing metaphorically for what the *gucekan* are doing.

¹⁹ *Naga* is the mythical snake, most commonly considered as a symbol of fertility and rebirth in Indian and Southeast Asian cultures.

Figure 7. Selunding Ensemble of Selat, Karangasem, Showing *Naga* (photo courtesy Vaughan Hatch)



The two *gangsa*, an octave apart in pitch, are distinguished as *lanang* (male) and *wadon* (female). The arrangement of the keys is shown below.

Figure 8. Key Arrangement of the *Gangsa*

Player 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Gangsa Wadon
	1 instrument								
Player 2	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	2'	Gangsa Lanang, 8 ^{va}
	1 instrument								

Figure 9. *Gangsa* instrument, Ding to Ding 8^{va} (photo Danker Schaareman)



The Balinese names for these tones are in the table below:

Table 1. The Balinese Names and Signs of the Seven Tones

ding	Dong Gede	Dang Gede	deng	dung	dang cenik	dong cenik
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
i	O	A	e	u	a	o
ᵀ	ᵀ	ᵀ	ᵀ	ᵀ	ᵀ	ᵀ

[cenik = "small", "high"; gede = "big", "low"; 1' is occasionally called ding cenik]

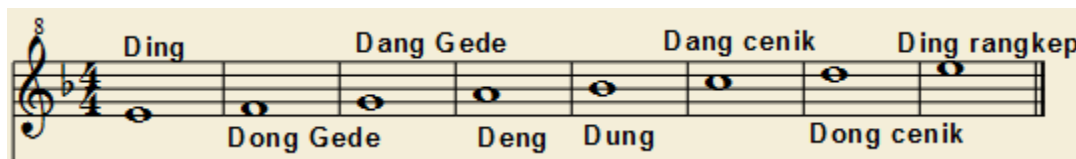
The signs below the numbers are the Balinese symbols used for musical notation. These are derived from the Balinese script.

The principle according to which an instrument includes both tone X and its octave is called "(r)angkep", in the above case of the *gangsa wadon* "*ding rangkep*", (r)angkep meaning "complete". Each *gangsa* is played by one musician with two wooden hammers, mainly to be able to play the octave 1-1'.

Note: in the music examples I have opted to use letters in line with the Balinese names instead of numbers. Thus, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (= 1") are shown as i, O, A, e, u, a, o: i (ding), O (dOng gede), A (dAng gede), e (deng), u (dung), a (dang cenik), o (dong cenik), i' (ding rangkep).

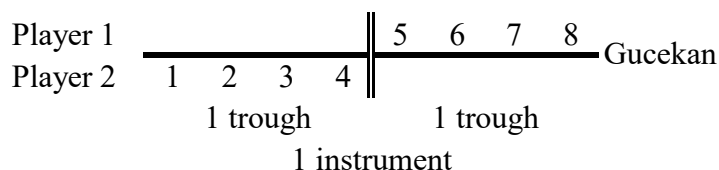
Western musical notation does not properly reflect the Balinese tuning system, but below is an approximate rendering:

Figure 10. Approximate Scale of the Seven Balinese Tones in Western Notation



B) Gucekan. The arrangement of the keys of the two *gucekan* is the same as that of the *gangsa wadon* (i.e. 1-1'). Both *wadon* and *lanang* are an octave apart in pitch. The construction of the instruments is the same, but there is one major difference: each *gucekan* consists of two wooden troughs with four iron keys each (i.e. 1-2-3-4 // 5-6-7-1'), thus requiring two musicians to play the figuration of the melody; they use two hammers each. In this manner two players together create one figuration to the melody.

Figure 11. Key Arrangement of the Gucekan



The photograph below of the *selunding* ensemble of Bugbug village shows the arrangement of the two troughs:

Figure 12. *Selunding* Ensemble of Bugbug, Karangasem (photo courtesy Pino Confessa)



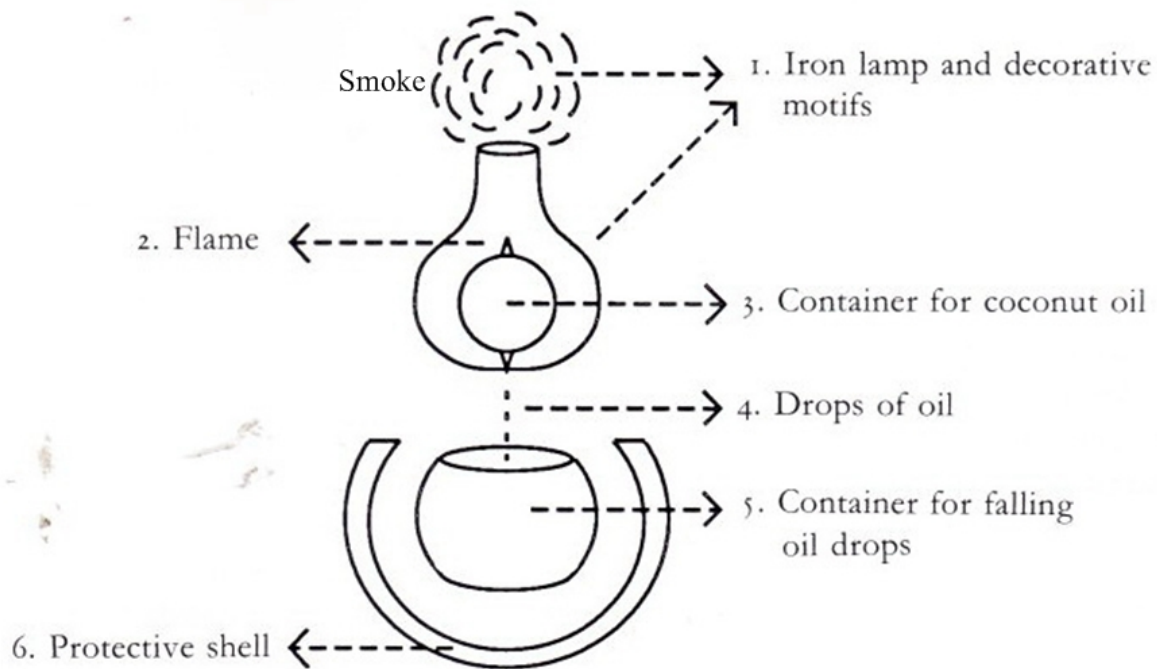
C 1) *Gebyog*. The key arrangement and construction are as for the *gucekan* - it is pitched an octave lower than the *gucekan wadon*. Each half of the instrument is played by one musician although it often occurs that just one player takes care of the *gebyog*. The punctuating beats are performed in such a way that two tones sound simultaneously, i.e. the player holds the hammer in a horizontal position, and then strikes. Although there is no word for "punctuation" as such in Asak, what the *gebyog* does is "*ngebyogin*", "*byog*" being an onomatopoeic expression for a dull sound or thud.

C 2) *Kempul*. The *kempul* is only used to mark the end of individual sections of a composition. It is often left out.

If the above (A-C) is an inventory of the *selunding* ensemble of Asak, it would not be complete without mentioning a *damar* or lamp; without it the ensemble is not complete. This *damar* is called "*suar batara bagus*", "the shining of the deity". In Asak, the deity who is lord of the *selunding* ensemble is *Ida Batara Bagus (Selunding)*, and it is believed that the lamp symbolizes the deity. The lamp is fueled with coconut oil, and the drops of the oil are collected in a container, and much sought after for medicinal purposes as the oil is directly blessed by the deity during the ritual where the *selunding* is played.²⁰

²⁰ In the nineteen-seventies there was no electricity in the village, the main source of light were petroleum-fed or storm king lamps. Since the introduction of electricity in the nineteen-eighties standard light bulbs or neon tube lights have become common.

Figure 13. *Suar Batara Bagus Selunding*



TONALITY, NOTATION AND REPERTOIRE

Selunding music is heptatonic; this is called *saih pitu*, "series/ row of seven". Most melodies, however, employ a scale of five tones only. There are several melodies which use six or seven of the available tones but in only two or three cases is the distribution of the seven tones more or less equal, and there do not seem to be mere secondary tones so that we could speak of a true seven-tone melody. In several melodies a sixth or seventh tone only occurs once and so stands out - giving the listener a kind of "hey what was that" feeling. In the scale arrangements of most melodies, however, each of the seven tones may be the basic tone of a seven-tone scale or mode using only five of the seven tones. Melodies can be transposed, but only in cases where the choice of melodies is not strictly prescribed. Thus, the following scales or modes are possible:

Figure 14. The Seven Modes

Mode name:

1 Saih ding:	<u>1</u>	2	3	.	5	6	.
2 Saih Dong Gede:	.	<u>2</u>	3	4	.	6	7
3 Saih Dang Gede:	1	.	<u>3</u>	4	5	.	7
4 Saih deng:	7	1	.	<u>4</u>	5	6	.
5 Saih dung:	.	2	3	.	<u>5</u>	6	7
6 Saih dang cenik:	1	.	3	4	.	<u>6</u>	7
7 Saih dong cenik:	1	2	.	4	5	.	<u>7</u>

The basic tone is in red

The (theoretically) lowest tone of a "closed" group of three tones is the one that defines the mode (or *saih* in Balinese). Thus, mode seven is called "*saih dong cenik*", mode three "*saih Dang Gede*", and so on. Usually, though, the modes are distinguished by the name of frequently performed melodies: all melodies employing the same mode as, for example, the often played melody "*Panjimarga*" (Dang Gede/ 3, Deng/ 4, Dung/ 5, dong cenik/ 7, Ding/ 1) are said to belong to "*saih panjimarga*".

About 90% of the repertoire of the *selunding* ensemble in Asak is identical with that of the *gambang* ensemble. It comprises some fifty-odd melodies most of which are noted down in palm leaf manuscripts (*lontar*)²¹. Only the main melody (*pokok gending*) is written down; rhythm, punctuation and figuration are transmitted audio-visually²². The *pokok gending* are memorized by reading/ singing the *lontar*. The best musicians are those who have internalized the *pokok gending* and can perform them without any mistake under all circumstances (such as grandchildren playing around on the lap of the player, other players making mistakes, deafening music of other ensembles nearby, ritual actions such as cleansing the instruments and musicians with holy water). Musicians who play the figurations smoothly and flawlessly but do not quite remember the main melody are not considered to be the best players ("still learning").

²¹ Schlager (1976: 100-201) contains a rather complete collection of transcribed *gambang* melodies. It dates from the nineteen-forties, was complemented by Hans Oesch in 1969 and 1974, and includes the collection of Jaap Kunst (1925, I, tab. XIII-XV) as well.

²² The main melody is learnt by heart by studying the palm leaf manuscripts; these only indicate the tones of the main melody. By "audio-visually" I mean that all other musical features are learnt by watching, imitation, and trial and error. As practicing on the *selunding* instruments outside the ritual is prohibited, some imitation *gucekan* of bamboo called *grantang* can be found. *Grantang* is one of the names of certain types of bamboo instruments. But the word may also denote the interlinear (Balinese) translation of an (Old-Balinese/ Old-Javanese) text. I also heard it used in the sense of "musical notation" or "musical symbol"; these symbols are - in the case of *kidung gambang* - written underneath the text syllables. Fortunately, in 1998 the village purchased some *selunding* instruments so that practicing outside rituals is possible.

The names of most melodies are in fact the names of *kidung*²³ (such as *Sudamala*, *Malat*, *Alis-alis Ijo*, *Pator*) or of *kidung* meters (such as *Ginada*, *Kinanti*, *Kulante*, *Demung*). These used to be sung to the accompaniment of *gambang*, *gong luang*, *saron/ caruk* music.²⁴ It should be noted that the palm leaf manuscripts are always called *lontar gending* (or *lontar pupuh/ kidung*) *gambang*, not *selunding*. As far as I know *selunding* music was never used to accompany the (ritual) singing of *kidung*.

The remaining 10% or so of the repertoire are specific *selunding* melodies. They are not written down in manuscript form. The (mostly short) melodies usually accompany specific ritual actions or possess a signaling function (see further below).

REPERTOIRE AND RITUAL USE

During the *Usaba Sumbu* about thirty melodies are performed on the *selunding* ensemble. Each of these melodies has its specific function and place within the ritual.

Generally speaking, the melodies possess various rhythmic, figural and formal features which characterize (or indicate) the function of the melody being played - apart, of course, from being a melody in its own right. One could say that these features symbolize parts of the ritual. In other words, ritual use, form, rhythm and figural technique are firmly interconnected. The ritual use of melodies is decisive regarding the other elements (examples are given below).

Most participants can distinguish only a few melodies upon hearing them - which, admittedly, is not at all easy - and connect them precisely with the actual events. When the musicians hear a particular melody *and* its musical features in the distance, they know exactly to which part of the ritual it belongs (with the possible exception of melodies that have more than one function). But then, it must be noted that the ritual or parts of it, are enclosed by the music. Ritual actions - be these temple dances, specific acts of offering, the cleansing of the temple area, the worship of certain deities, and so forth - may only begin *after* the relevant music commences. Similarly, the rituals must end *before* the music ends - often meaning, that a melody is repeated until the ritual is finished. In this sense one could say that the musicians are in a "superior" controlling position. In fact, it is the *menanga* (the leader of the music association) who decides when a specific ritual action must begin, simply by beginning to play a particular melody. The highest-ranking village elders who carry out the ritual depend on the *menanga*. The *menanga* also bears the title of *pelelintih*, "controller"; in this function he also controls the composition of the offerings, their distribution, etc.

In respect to their function, the melodies may be broadly classified as follows: Those that indicate the beginning or end of a ritual cycle that accompany temple dances and specific ritual actions and, finally, melodies that have a mere signaling function.

In Asak, five concepts formally categorize types of melodies or their parts: *geguron*, *gending* (occasionally also called [*pu*]*puh*), *taksu*, *kale* and *pabelan*. Each denotes a specific form, rhythm, figuration, and, partially, its corresponding melody. Moreover, the terms may signify the specific function of the music.

²³ Kidung is a form of Old Javanese/ Old Balinese poetry using indigenous meters. Further information on *kidung* and *kidung* singing may be found in Wallis (1979: 174ff.) and Vickers (1986: 79ff.) and Vickers in Schaareman (1992: 221-43).

²⁴ The LP disc BM 30 SL 2571 (= Schaareman 1986) presents a few specimens of this genre.

- **Geguron**

Formally, *geguron*²⁵ is the most extensive type of composition. Each temple in Asak has its own opening *geguron*. No ritual actions may take place in a temple before the corresponding *geguron* has been performed. For instance, in the "temple of origin" (*Pura Puseh*) the *geguron* is "*Ranggacalon*", in the "temple of the sea" (*Pura Segaha*) "*Panjimarga*", etc. In these temples the *geguron* are played by the *gambang* ensemble. In the case of *selunding* music the *geguron* is always "*Pamandana*" (also called "*Ginada*") as the ensemble only performs in the central village temple (*Pura Bale Agung*). "*Geguron Pamandana*" is the melody that must be played before any ritual or parts thereof may begin in this temple.

A *geguron* consists of three sections: *gending*, *taksu* and *kale*. The *gending* (which is one of the common names for any instrumental and sometimes vocal composition) consists of four sub-sections, *kawitan*, *kapingkalih*, *kapingtiga* and *kapingpat*, meaning the beginning, the second, the third and the fourth, respectively. These four sections of the *gending* are related to the internal division of *kidung* texts (cf. Vickers in Schaareman [ed.] 1992: 221-243). They are played without interruption. The *kawitan* is performed in unison by all instruments, and is repeated. The *gangsa* then continue with the second, third and fourth section with a steady rhythm of 10+6 units. To the tones of the *gangsa* melody the *gucekan* perform a figuration consisting of 16+16 units. This type of slow moving figuration is called *nguwad*, (to stretch), i.e. to lengthen the main tones of the melody from 5+3 to 10+6, and the figuration from 4+4/ 8+8 to 16+16, as 5+3 and 4+4/ 8+8 are the basic rhythm of the *gangsa* and the *gambang* respectively, as used in the *gambang* ensemble playing technique. Whether the expression *nguwad* has anything to do with the concept *nguwad suara*, which means the lengthening or shortening of the melody to fit the words of a *kidung* text, I do not know²⁶. The last few tones of the fourth section are performed in unison again. If one does not know the melody very well it is impossible to distinguish the last three sections from each other as there are no pauses. Music example 1 is the transcription of the first eight tones of the second section of the *gending* "*Pamandana*"; note the partial figuration of the melody in the *kawitan*.

After a short pause the ensemble continues with the *taksu* and *kale*. In the case of "*Pamandana*" the melody of the *taksu* is that of the second section (*kapingkalih*) of the *gending*. Its first eight tones are performed slowly in unison, and upon being repeated are figured in the same manner as in the *gending*. However, after the eighth melody tone thus figured, the tempo increases suddenly and the *gangsa* now play at a rhythm of 4+4 units to which an 8+8 figuration is performed (this style of playing is called *becat*, "fast"). This continues until the end of the second section when the *taksu* passes without interruption into the *kale*²⁷. This is something like an appendix, occurring in other compositions as well, and consists of three parts, the first and third of which are identical. Contrary to the *kale* as played on the *gambang*, the melody of these first and third sections is (at least partially) adapted to the mode of the *taksu* to which it is played. Both sections may be repeated as long as (ritually) necessary. Comparison with the *kale* in *gambang* music shows

²⁵ The root of *geguron* is *guru*, "father", "teacher", "leader". It also denotes a long syllable in poetic meters (*guru lagu*). The expression *geguru-an/ geguron*, "following the way of the leader", could signify the first ("leading") composition of a group of melodies.

²⁶ Cf. Robson 1972: 321, and Vickers 1986: 83 ff

²⁷ As Adrian Vickers pointed out to me, *kale* means something like "disorderly", "not following a rule". This may refer to the fact that the first and last section of the *kale* can be repeated as often as necessary - this giving the composition a somewhat unbalanced, "disorderly" shape.

that the hexatonic melody of the middle section is almost the same (music example 2) whereas the first and the last sections differ widely, having a four-tone melody in the case of the *selunding* ensemble. On the *gambang* (cf. Schaareman 1980^a: 480f.) these are merely identical rhythmic melodic formulas, but here the *selunding* has a more melodic quality (v. music example 3 for the fast part of the *taksu* and *kale*). The figuration of the *gucekan*, likewise called *becat*, is more melodic and contains many syncopations.

- **Gending**

The concept of the *gending* has already been explained. Regarding *selunding* music, however, the term *gending* as such is used almost exclusively to denote the melody "*Panjimarga*" when it is played to mark the end of a series of rituals. In contrast to the various *geguron* being tied to a particular temple, the final melody in all the temples is "*Panjimarga*". After performing the *kawitan* twice in unison the *gangsa* play the melody in a rhythm of 5+3 units, figured by the *gucekan* in a rhythm of 4+4 units. This style of playing is called *nyelugcag*²⁸. Again, the last few tones are played by all instruments in unison (music example 4). Concerning the (ritual) difference between *nyelugcag* and *nguwad* let me make the following remark: If we hear the melody "*Panjimarga*" being played with the figurational technique of *nyelugcag* we instantly know that the ritual (or part of it) has come to an end. If we hear the same melody (but only its fourth section!) being played in the *nguwad* style we know that *Batara Gede Panyarikan*, the special god of the village secretary, "is being danced" (see below).

- **Taksu and Kale**

Taksu and *kale* are also performed as a separate unit, outside the context of the *geguron*. It must be said that there is no such thing as an individual *kale*. On the other hand, *taksu* may be performed without the *kale* (see below).

Taksu cum kale as units, independent from a *geguron*, are used to accompany temple dances, and certain ritual actions of the village elders.

Asak has twenty-three village deities. During the ritual cycle of the first month they are invited to descend, and take a seat in small wooden boxes (*tahulan*). The gods are symbolized by *arca*, i.e. precious and sacred objects such as rings, coins, etc. Twice during the ritual, the female village elders and the members of the (unmarried) girls' association (*sekaha daha*) dance, one after another, carrying these "boxes of the gods" on their shoulders. The first time, the gods are danced in the *Pura Muter* to the music of the *gambang* ensemble, the second time in the *Pura Bale Agung* to the music of the *selunding* ensemble. The ritual is called *batara masolah*, "the gods are dancing" or *solahin batara*, "dancing the gods". Each deity has its own special melody, called *taksu* "such and such".

- **Pabelan**

It is here that the term *pabelan* comes in; *pabelan* can be translated as "invocation" or "call(ing)"²⁹.

²⁸ The root of *nyelugcag* is *celugcag*. The verb could be translated as "doing something out of order", "to ramble" - and this is the impression one may have when listening to this style of playing, maybe because of the simultaneity of the 5+3 and 4+4 rhythms.

²⁹ The root of *pabelan* may be *bela*, "to sacrifice" (oneself), *pabelan* meaning the weapon with which in former times the widow(s) of noble men sacrificed themselves, and followed their husbands into death in the cremation ceremony. It was Adrian Vickers again who pointed out this possibility to me. As the word occurs only in the context of the "dancing of the gods", *pabelan* may - in a less bloody rendering - refer to the dances of the women accompanying or following the gods, which also contains the element of sacrifice.

Thus, the *pabelan* of Batara³⁰ Puseh Nyoman ("the younger god of origin") is *taksu* "Basung", the *pabelan* of Batara Gedong Baas ("the god of the [village] rice barn") *taksu* "Gumi Rusak", etc. *Taksu* may be seen as compositions that represent the individual deities³¹.

The melodies of most *taksu* may be any of the last three sections of an existing *gending*. For example, the melody of *taksu* "Jurangandanu" is that of the fourth section of the *gending* "Jurangandanu" (it *cannot* be the second or third), *taksu* "Jagirmangu" takes its melody from the third section of the *gending* of the same name. However, there are *taksu* melodies that stand by themselves, and seem to be independent of any known *gending* (such as the melodies of *taksu* "Lilit" or "Kulante", meaning that there is no *gending* of this name that contains the usual four sections. These independent *taksu* are also played during the dancing of the gods as *pabelan* for specific deities.

The *taksu* always have a *kale* in this context, the *kale* clearly possessing a signaling function: As soon as the *taksu* passes into the *kale* the dancer knows that her dance is finished and the dancer following her should prepare herself for the next dance. Meanwhile, the *kale* must continue until the dancer has placed the box-of-the-god back into its shrine. The next dancer takes up her position, and waits for the music to begin. The *taksu* is performed by the *gangsa* in a rhythm of 10+6 units to which the *gucekan* play a figuration of 20+12 units throughout. Only the first section of the *kale* - again adapted to the mode of the *taksu* - is performed.

In addition, there are dances of worship (e.g. *abuang*) performed by the members of the (unmarried) boys' association (*sekaha taruna*), and specific groups of married villagers (such as the members of the village council). Each group has its own special melody called "*gending* such-and-such". These are played in the manner of the *taksu* (but now without *kale*) as described above, the difference being that *all* sections of the *gending* (without *kawitan*) are performed and, if need be, repeated.

An example of what happens after each *abuang* dance is the ritual carried out by the twenty-four village elders. After the *selunding* ensemble has played the *gending* "Ranggacalon" (as a *taksu* without *kale*) to accompany the *abuang* dance, they seat themselves in two long rows facing each other. Village servants then walk three times right through the two rows of men, pouring palm wine into small banana leaf containers held by the elders who then pour it onto the ground in front of them. This libation is called *matabuh*. The leader of the *selunding* ensemble watches the ceremony, and on seeing that it is finished begins the short melody "Cilimuani". This in turn is a sign for the elders to yell and stand up, and prepare themselves for the subsequent mock fight dance called *gebug*. Hearing the *kale* "Cilimuani" the men begin to dance, and do so as long as this *kale* is being played. How many times the *kale* is repeated depends solely on the leader of the ensemble.

The melody and rhythm of the *gending* "Cilimuani" is quite different from all other types of composition. The *gucekan* also play a melodic rhythmic figuration which seems to compete with the main melody of the *gangsa*. The first section of the *kale* is performed in the usual way, and adapted to the mode of the *gending* (see music example 5 for a transcription of the *gending*).

³⁰ Batara (and *dewa*) are the common words for "god".

³¹ The word *taksu* has several meanings. The more common ones are: 1) a deity which uses a special priest (*balian tetakson*) as its medium to convey messages of some sort, and 2) a shrine or stone platform in temples as the seat of the guardian of the temple ground (likewise called *taksu*). Sometimes the word means "companion of the gods". I think that it is quite conceivable to say that the deities "speak" or communicate through their (musical) *taksu* where *taksu* is "voice of the god".

Finally, mention must be made of *selunding* melodies which have little in common with the usual *gambang* and *selunding* repertoire as played by the *sekaha gambang*. They are short melodies, and mostly derived from existing *gong* orchestra compositions³². There are, however, several melodies that are not derived from the *gong* or from the existing *gambang* and *selunding* repertoire; they are more akin to the very traditional eastern Balinese *sanghyang* and *cekeprung* type of melodies. In the past, there was a sung introduction which then passed into musical phrases with a mere figurational playing technique as in *gong*-derived compositions. Neither the texts nor the melodies are recorded in the *lontar* manuscripts. The melodies as they are played nowadays serve to accompany the *rejang*, a dance of worship - pleasing gods and humans alike - performed by the unmarried girls. It is only for the *rejang* that the ensemble is played by members of the boys' association.

In summarizing the above interrelationships of ritual use and musical features the chart below may be useful. It shows the relations between musical form, rhythm, figuration and ritual use.

Figure 15. Interrelationships of Ritual Use and Musical Features

	gending: "Pamandana"	taksu:
	kawitan | kapingkalih-kapingpat	|| kapingkalih || A | B | A |
	unison | nguwad | unison	|| unison | nguwad || ngucek || ngucek
Geguron:	|| ----- | ----- | -----	|| ----- | ----- || ----- || - | - | - |
	[opening of rituals]	
	kawitan | kapingkalih-kapingpat	
	| nyalugcag | unison	
Gending:	|| ----- | ----- | -----	||
	[closing of rituals]	
		taksu: 2, 3 or 4 kale: A
		|| unison | nguwad || ngucek |
Pabelan:		|| ----- | ----- || ----- |
		[dancing the gods] [end of dance]
		gending: 2, 3 or 4
		|| unison | nguwad ||
Taksu/ gending:		|| ----- | ----- ||
		[dances of worship]
		|| gending:
		|| ngucek || ngucek
Special:		|| ----- || ----- ||
		[yelling/ standing up] [mock fight dance]

³² Cf. the disc BM 30 SL 2571 (= Schaareman [1986]), tracks 3-5.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I hope I have made it sufficiently clear that the way in which a particular composition is performed (in respect to musical form, figurational technique and rhythm) is firmly tied to specific sections of the ritual. One should keep in mind that the music frames certain parts of the ritual sequence, which itself takes place *within* the sacred atmosphere of the music. This is most clearly demonstrated in the case of the "gods who are dancing": The woman with the "box-of-the-god" on her shoulder stands still and waits. The music commences, and only then does the woman turn around and begin her dance-like movements. When the *kale* is heard she stops dancing, walks back to the shrine of the deity, and hands the box over to the village priestess who then places it in the shrine. Only then may the *kale* come to an end³³.

Figure 16. Dancing with the Boxes of the Gods (photo Danker Schaareman, 1973)



It generally is very important for the success of the ritual that a specific melody (with its likewise specific musical features) is performed by the right ensemble, at the correct place in the temple, and during the proper part and time of the ritual. The character, meaning and content of the ritual are made audible through the music, and made visible and tangible through the ritual actions.

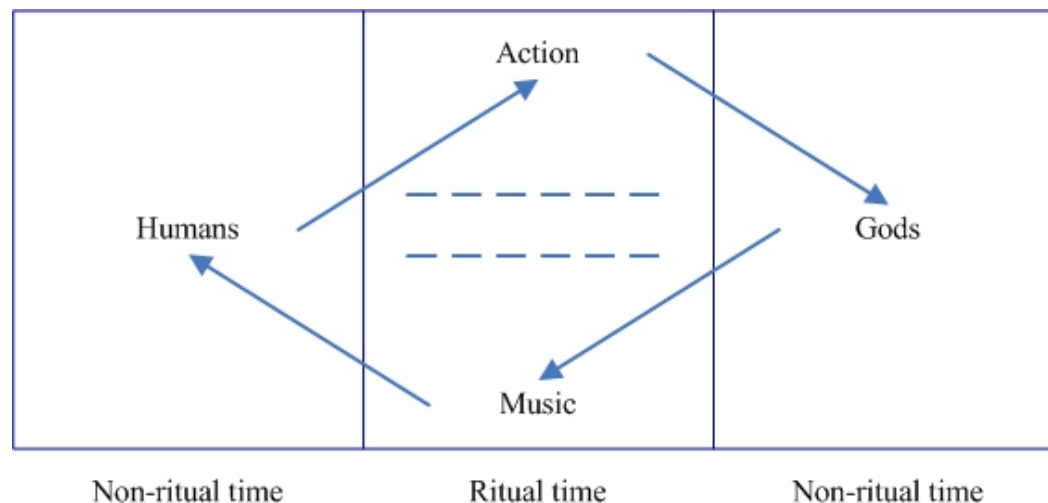
Both ritual action and music are indicators or expressions of locally relevant values and

³³ See Schaareman 1990 for some details on this.

representations, or to put it in more sociological terms are statements about the socio-religious order. In my opinion, ritual music and ritual action are equivalents or at least complementary: music without ritual action, and, conversely, ritual action without music is meaningless.

Of course, there is also an element of *time* involved here. It is only during *ritual* times that people go to the temple, an action that involves crossing the border between secular and sacred grounds, and where the gods are invited to descend and take part in the ritual. The gods accept the invitation and descend. The "meeting ground" is *not* the *jeroan* (the inner temple yard where the shrines of the gods are) or the *jaba pura* (the outer temple yard, the space outside the temple proper where humans live) but the *jaba tengah*, the section in-between. It is here that gods and humans come together and communicate with each other. (It is certainly not without significance that the *sumbu* construction is erected here, in the central temple courtyard.) Through the music the gods communicate with the villagers (remember that the meaning of the word *taksu* [see note 31] is the "voice of the gods"), and through ritual actions the villagers communicate with them. This may be schematically represented as in the figure below:

Figure 17. Ritual and Non-Ritual Time



To put it concisely, I believe that ritual music and ritual action are forms of communication expressing the same basic things in different ways. This may be seen in the use of the concepts *taksu* and *pabelan*. As a complementary of *taksu* we find *pabelan*. Both are means of communication: the *pabelan* of deity X is *taksu* Y. *Taksu* is the channel of communication from gods to humans, and *pabelan* from humans to gods.

On a further note and perhaps on a higher level of abstraction, I like to point out that not just the relation "deity X - melody Y" or "temple A - melody B", etc., is important but, rather, the relating of a series of elements to a specific mode or tone. It is not a specific melody which designates the belonging together of certain elements, but a specific tone/ mode. In other words, a mode/ tone comprises various elements which together form a more or less closed category.

As an hypothesis based on my interpretation of the *Usaba Kasa* with its *selunding* and *gambang* music and other village rituals where *gambang* music is played, and noting the mode of the melodies played during which ritual sequences, I tend to associate the tone *Ding* - expressed somewhat simplistically - with womanliness, with water, and with "ending" (a precondition for "beginning"); the tone *Dang Gede* with masculinity and youth, with renovation; the tone *Dung* with the worship of the ancestors

(and deities), and with the two important ancestor groups of Asak; the tone *dang cenik* with fertility and wealth, with the "older" row of village elders, and with the village as the central religious unit and, finally, the tone *dong cenik*, with purification, with the "younger" row of village elders, with the origin of the village.

When talking with musicians and other knowledgeable villagers about *saih/* modes, it appears that they see a clear relationship between *dung* (or *saih dung*: *dung – dang cenik – dong cenik – Dong Gede – Dang Gede*) and the ancestors and descent groups, between *dong cenik* (or *saih dong cenik*: *dong cenik – Ding – Dong Gede – Deng – Dung*) and holy water and purification. In the case of the latter relationship, all *abuang* dances performed by the married villagers are accompanied by melodies that have the mode *dong cenik*, the self-purification rituals of the village elders (called *macapah*) during the *usaba sumbu* are likewise accompanied by melodies in the *dong cenik* mode, and if for cremation rituals holy water from the *gambang* is sought after, the melody *Sudamala*³⁴ (*saih dong cenik*) must be played after the leader of the *gambang* ensemble has submerged several bronze keys of the *gangsa* into water while speaking a prayer, thus making the water holy.

In conclusion let me say this: In a very condensed form, *Ding* stands for "female", *Dang Gede* for "male", *Dung* for "ancestors", *dang cenik* for "fertility", and *dong cenik* for "purification".

³⁴ "*Sudamala*" means "free of evil".

MUSIC EXAMPLES

Music Example 1. *Gending Pamandana* (<https://youtu.be/kNTjc-t5zq8>)

Gending Pamandana (Excerpt), Mode dang cenik [.... = 74 BPM approx.] Mode dang cenik: a o i . A e .

Kawitan

Gangsa	A . e . a . o . i' . A . i' . i' . o . a . e . a . A . A . i' . A . a . e . o . a . e . a . i' .
Gucek 1	. . . . a . o . i' . . . i' . i' . o . a . . . a i' . i' . a . . a . o . a . o . a . i' .
Gucek 2	A . e i . A . i A i e . . e A i A A i i A e . . . A . A e . e A e . . i .

Gangsa	A . a . e . o . a . e . a . i' . A . a . a . e . e . A . i' . A . o . e . a . . :
Gucek 1	. . a . . a o . a . o . a . i' . . . a . a . a . . . i' . . i' o . . . a . :
Gucek 2	A e . . A e A e . e A e . . i . A e e . e . A . i . A e . . e . . :

Transition from Kawitan to Kapingkalih:

Gangsa	. . . . .
Gucek 1	i' . a . i' . a . i' . a . i' . a .
Gucek 2	A . i . A . i . e . A . i . A .

Kapingkalih

Gangsa	i' A e
Gucek 1	i' . . . i' . a . i' . a . . . o . a . . . o . a . o . a . . . a . . . a . . . a . . .
Gucek 2	i . . . i . A i A . i . A . . . A . i . A . . . A . . . i e . . i e . . . e . i . A . e .
Gebyog	. . . . X X X

Gangsa	a o
Gucek 1	a . . . o . . o a . . . o . a . o . a . . o . a . o . a . o . a .
Gucek 2	. . . . e . i . . e . . e i . A . e . . . e . . . i . A . i .
Gebyog	. . . . . X X

Gangsa	A a
Gucek 1	. . o . a . . . o . a . . . a . o a . . . a . . . a . i' . a . o .
Gucek 2	A . . . A . i . A . . . A . i . A . e . . . e . . . i . e i A .
Gebyog	. . . . . X X

Gangsa	i'
Gucek 1	i' . . . i' . a . i' . . . i' . a . i' . a .
Gucek 2	i . . . i . A . i . . . i . A . i . A .
Gebyog	. . . . . X

Music Example 2. *Selunding* and *gambang* compared (middle section of the *kale*)

Gangsa gambang: i . A . u . A . a . A . u . a . u . A . O . i .
Gangsa Selunding: i . A . u . A a . u . A . O . i .

Gangsa gambang: i . a . a . i O e . a . e . O . a . a .
Gangsa Selunding: i . a . a . i O e . a . e . O

Gangsa gambang: i . O . e . a . e . O . u . u .
Gangsa Selunding: u . u .

Music Example 3. *Taksu* and *Kale Pamandana*

Taksu Pamandana (Excerpt), Mode dang cenik

[.... = 74 BPM approx.]

Mode dang cenik: a o i . A e .

Gangsa	A	$\frac{i'}{i}$	o	a
Gucek 1	. . . i' . i' . .	i' . i' . . i' . i'	o . o a o a i' o	a . . . a . . .
Gucek 2	A . A i A i e A	i . i A . i A i	. . e . . e A e	. . A e . A e A
Gebyog	. . X . . . . .	. . X . . . . .	. . X . . . . .	. . X
<hr/>				
Gangsa	$\frac{i'}{i}$	e	a	A
Gucek 1	i' . i' . . i' . i'	. . . i' . a . .	a . . . a . a .	. . . i' . i' . .
Gucek 2	i . i A . i e i	e . e A e . A e	. . A e . A . e	A . A i A i e A
Gebyog	. . X . . . . .	. . X . . . . .	. . X . . . . .	. . X

Kale Pamandana

Gangsa, section A

u . u . a . u . $\frac{i'}{i}$. $\frac{i'}{i}$. a . $\frac{i'}{i}$. u . u . A . A . $\frac{i'}{i}$. $\frac{i'}{i}$. A . $\frac{i'}{i}$. [repeated x times]

Gangsa, transition to B

u . . . a . u . $\frac{i'}{i}$. . . u . . . u . . .

Gangsa, section B

$\frac{i'}{i}$. . . A . . . u . . . A . . . a . . . u . . . A . . . O . . . $\frac{i'}{i}$. . .

$\frac{i'}{i}$. . . a . . . a . . . $\frac{i'}{i}$. . . O . . . e . . . a . . . e . . . 2 . . .

Gangsa, transition back to A

u . u . $\frac{i'}{i}$. $\frac{i'}{i}$. A . i' . [Again, A may be repeated x times]

To this melody the *gucekan* perform similar melodic and rhythmic figurations as in the *taksu* of example 3. In comparison, part A of the *kale* as played on the *gambang* ensemble is a repetition of the tones 1 . 3 . 1 . 3 . by the *gangsa*, rhythmically figured by the *gambang* instruments.

Music Example 4. *Gending Panjimarga*

Gending Panjimarga (Excerpt), Mode ding [.... = 92 BPM approx.] Mode ding: i O A . u a .

Kapingkalih

Gangsa	. a . .	$\frac{i'}{i}$ . . .	. O . .	A . . .	. u . .	A . . .	. a . .	u . . .	≈
Gucek 1	a i' u a	i' . . i'	. . i' .	. i' . .	u . a u	. a u .	a i' u a	u . a u	≈
Gucek 2	. i . .	i A O i	O A i O	A i O A	. A . .	A . . A	. i . .	. A . .	≈
Gebyog	. . . .	. . X .	. . X .	. . X .	. . X .	. . X .	. . X .	. . X .	≈

Music Example 5. *Gending Cilimuani*

Gending Cilimuani, Mode dung [... = 74 BPM approx.] Mode dung: u a o . O A .

Gangsa	O	u	u
Gucek 1	. . . . .	u	u . . . u . a .
Gucek 2	O . . . O . A .	. . . A O . A .	. . O A
Gebyog	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
<hr/>			
Gangsa	o	o	o
Gucek 1	o	o . . . o . a .	o . . . o . a .
Gucek 2	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Gebyog	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
<hr/>			
Gangsa	u . . . o . . .	O	u . . . o . . . O . . .
Gucek 1	u . . . o . u .	. . . . u . . .	u . . . o
Gucek 2	. . . . .	O . . . O . A .	. . . A O . A . O . . .
Gebyog	. . . . .	. . . . X . . .	. . . . X
<hr/>			
Gangsa	a	a	u . . . o . . . u . . .
Gucek 1	a . . u o . a . u . o .	a . . . u . . . a . . .	u . . . o
Gucek 2	. . . A O . A . O . A .	. . . A O . A . O . A .	O . A . . . A . O . A .
Gebyog	. . . . . X . . .	. . . . X	X X
<hr/>			
Gangsa	u . . . a . . .	u . . . u . . .	. . . . u . . .
Gucek 1	u . . . a . . .	u . . . u . . .	u
Gucek 2	O . A . O . A .	. . A . . . A .	. . A . O . A .
Gebyog	. . . . X . . .	. . . . X . . .	. . . . X . . .
<hr/>			
Gangsa	u . . . u u . . .	a	
Gucek 1	. . u . . . a . . . u . . . o .	a u . a . u . . . u .	
Gucek 2	. . O . . . A . . . O . . . A .	. . . A . . . A . . . A . . .	
Gebyog	. . . . X X . . .	. . . . X X . . .	
<hr/>			
Gangsa	a	O u	
Gucek 1	a . a . a . u . . . a . . . o .	. . . . u . . . u . . . u . a .	
Gucek 2	. . . . A . O . . . A . . . A .	O . O . O . . . O . . . A .	
Gebyog	. . . . X X . . .	. . . . X X . . .	
<hr/>			
Gangsa	O . . . o	A u	
Gucek 1 o . . . o o . o . a . u u u .	
Gucek 2	O	A . A . O . A . . . O . A . . .	
Gebyog X X X . . .	
<hr/>			
Gangsa	O A	o	
Gucek 1 u u	o	
Gucek 2	O . . . A . O . A . . . O	
Gebyog X X	

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